

Political expediency and social security

On Jan. 1, for the first time in five years, most Americans started enjoying a cut in taxes. We say most Americans because about 10 million workers in the lowest income brackets, despite the 10-per-cent reduction in personal income taxes, will hand over to Uncle Sam in 1954 slightly more of their earnings than they did last year. This odd development is the result of the increase of one-half per cent in the social-security taxes which took effect simultaneously with the reduction in income taxes. Under our tax laws, individuals earning \$600 or less a year and married couples earning less than \$1,200 pay no personal income tax. Neither do married couples with two dependents who earn below \$2,500. But all these people pay social-security taxes. So they will now pay Uncle Sam from \$2.50 to \$6 a year more in these taxes than they did in 1953. To benefit in take-home pay from the cut in income taxes, married couples with two dependents must earn in excess of \$3,600; married couples with three dependents, in excess of \$4,500. From a political standpoint this would seem the sort of development to be avoided at all costs. No lawmaker wants to risk the charge that he voted tax relief exclusively for the well-to-do. It would be a pity, however, were Congress to postpone the hike in social-security taxes purely for reasons of political expediency. These taxes are really not taxes at all but insurance premiums. Workers understand the difference. They will not be inclined to punish legislators who vote for a sound social-security system.

Four million new citizens

The one bumper crop of 1953 that hasn't set the country worrying is in new human beings. It is a bumper crop—nearly 4 million babies. This prodigious number of new births and those of the years since 1947 represent a birth rate of 24 per thousand, nearly equal to that of Japan or India. This rate has kept the annual average over the last seven years above 3.6 million, and resulted in a nine-year total of 33 million births. No wonder demographers now expect that the United States will have 206 million people by 1975. Far from being a source of economic worry, the 33 million toddlers are considered a boon. For instance, the first of these children will soon begin to expand the teenage group. As they do, calorie requirements will jump 3 per cent. That will require the spending of another \$2 billion on food—one bright omen in the clouded skies of American farmers. Perhaps more important than their potential as consumers is the role these 33 million will play as producers. When they reach the producing age they will redress an imbalance demographers had led us to expect between our older people and the young who would support them. Not so long ago we heard that by 1975, 20 per cent of our population would be 65 and over. That figure has now to be revised downward to 10 per cent. The present boom, it is true, will have to simmer down for a few years because there simply are not enough marriages re-

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sulting from the sparse depression-born children to keep up the current rate. But the present boom will eventually father one of its own. Meanwhile, with 1975 offering the pleasant prospect of 130 million people under 35, the nation has already justification for anticipating the dynamic future that depends on youth.

No peace on the docks

As the old year faded into the new, a heavy cloud of uncertainty hovered low over the bustling port of New York. A week earlier the longshoremen had confounded the experts by giving the old ILA a much smaller margin of victory in an NLRB representation election than the authorities had predicted. The vote was 9,060 for ILA to 7,568 for the new AFL union. Since 4,405 ballots were challenged—mostly by the AFL—the board had not, prior to our deadline, made the ILA victory official. It may never be made official because the AFL, charging that the balloting was conducted in an environment of fear and coercion, is demanding that the result be set aside and a new election ordered. Meanwhile the president of the old racket-ridden union, Capt. William V. Bradley, warned on Dec. 26 that unless the shippers sat down to negotiate with the ILA before Jan. 4, he would strike the port. That put the shipping companies in a corner from which there was no legal escape. Until the labor board certifies an election winner, the employers are forbidden by law to sign a collective-bargaining contract. They can, of course, negotiate, but Captain Bradley may not be satisfied with negotiations that cannot legally issue in a contract. So far as the law affects ILA, the union is free to strike at any time. The Taft-Hartley injunction which the Government obtained last October expired on Christmas Eve. As we went to press, ILA backed away from its strike deadline, but the possibility of a stoppage remains acute. Maybe the labor board wishes now that it had not ordered an election which many objective observers deemed premature.

News "unfit to print"

Many readers of the New York Times for Christmas Day must have been shocked by the dispatch from Rome on the Holy Father's Christmas Eve message (see editorial on p. 373). The correspondent conjec-

tured: "The Pope did not, however, spare his criticism of the American approach to the problem of insuring world peace." Cited as evidence was the Pope's disapproval of "certain busy peace agents" who believe the secret of peace lies in "bringing [material] prosperity to all nations . . ."—the word in brackets being omitted in the dispatch . . . The paragraph in which the Holy Father used those phrases began: "Nevertheless, our grave fears for Europe . . ." The "busy agents of peace" were further identified by their "materialistic idea of life" and "their pacifist policy." If the Holy Father had been thus referring to "the American approach," what *would* have been newsworthy was the description of it as "pacifist." The reference, however, was to Europeans, no doubt to Socialists, "neutralists" and self-styled "partisans for peace." American foreign economic assistance, which the Holy Father has several times praised, has merely tried to assist other peoples to stabilize (and, at times, to improve) their economies as a necessary prerequisite for peace. Our Presidents have repeatedly insisted upon the necessity of "Christian principles" for world peace—as the Holy Father well knows from his correspondence with former President Truman (full texts in the *Catholic Mind* for October, 1953). The very night this dispatch was cabled from Rome, President Eisenhower urged all Americans to ask God to "help us—and teach us—and strengthen us." Equally gratuitous, in our opinion, was the guess that His Holiness alluded to our atomic stockpile for peaceful purposes when he rejected "that false autonomy of material forces which today are hardly different from war materials."

Apostolate of public opinion

May we suggest to our readers one little resolution appropriate to the early weeks of the New Year? It is to write at least *one* letter to an editor—for publication—before they tear "December, 1954" from their new calendars. Writing letters to editors can be a valuable form of participation in "the apostolate of public opinion." A good letter-to-the-editor, we might suggest, should have three simple qualities. It should be *short*. Space in publications is very expensive. Imagine you are writing a telegram (in complete sentences) and paying for every word. The chances of getting a letter published rise in inverse ratio to its length. Then

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it should be *courteous*. The writer may agree or disagree with the editor, but nothing is gained by insulting him. Lastly, it should be *informative*, preferably in a *factual* way. Add something to the discussion. Editors welcome expressions of pleasure or displeasure from thoughtful readers, but they naturally have their eye out for communications which carry discussions forward. It seems to us that schools might well train their students in the art of writing effective letters to editors. We feel sure that more of our subscribers could write something other subscribers would be glad to read. Perhaps 1954 will see more of them trying their hand at this form of journalism.

Catholic participation in Unesco

Nine-year old Unesco has both friends and enemies among Catholics. Though its American critics are by no means exclusively Catholics, enough of the latter have voiced their mistrust of the UN agency to persuade the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs to devote its eighth annual meeting to a serious discussion of Catholic participation in Unesco. First-hand information has been constantly available to CCICA, whose members have served as U. S. delegates to Unesco, as official Advisors to our delegation and as members of the U. S. National Commission for Unesco. The printed proceedings of this meeting therefore deserve serious study, for CCICA has, as usual, done its work with scholarly and fair-minded competence. Dr. C. J. Nuesse writes:

It is essential to bear in mind that the weaknesses which Unesco manifests at the deeper levels of purpose and spirit are those which beset the whole modern world. The overcoming of these is one of the tasks to which the members of this commission are dedicated by their vocation as Christians.

In the spirit of the address of Archbishop Angelo (now Cardinal) Roncalli to the General Conference of Unesco in Paris in July, 1951, Msgr. Frederick C. Hochwalt points out that, limited as Catholic participation has been, it has been productive of positive good. Rather than "walk out" and leave the field to those not in sympathy with Catholic principles, he urges Catholics to continue their "attitude of cooperation without illusion and with constructive criticism." This is surely in line with the principle the Holy Father laid down on Dec. 6: "within the limits of the possible and lawful, to promote everything that facilitates union" among the peoples of the world.

Norwegian challenge to anti-Jesuit laws

Norwegians have complained of the difficulties the McCarran Law creates for their sailors entering the United States. A prominent Norwegian journalist, Leif Caspersen, writes in Norway's second-largest daily, the *Oslo Dagbladet*, for Dec. 10, that such a complaint lacks logic, since Norway has its own "McCarran Law," viz., paragraph 2 of the Norwegian Constitution, which forbids Jesuits from entering the country. Such

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exclusion is all the more contradictory, says Mr. Caspersen, since Norway is one of the countries that have ratified the European Human Rights Convention. Norway's neighbors, Denmark and Sweden, he remarks ironically, though thoroughly Protestant countries, do not seem to have suffered any serious spiritual impairment from the presence of a few Jesuits in their midst. "We Norwegians," he observes, "have been sending missionaries for the past 100 years to various parts of the world to spread our own religious ideas. Why should we now bar our doors if others should wish to send missionaries to us? Haven't the majority of us that much tolerance?" The writer found it anomalous that the sole considerable opposition to the proposed change should hail from a group entitled *Kristen-folk* ("Christian People"), while the King, the Government and six of the country's seven Lutheran bishops favor the change. Mr. Caspersen, who is secretary general of the Norwegian Division of the World Federalist Movement, takes pains to point out that it was an *AMERICA* editor, the Rev. Edward A. Conway, S.J., who at the recent Copenhagen World Federalist Congress opened his eyes to the inconsistency of Norway's adherence to the Covenant and its treatment of the Jesuits.

India and aid to Pakistan

India's consternation over proposed American military aid to Pakistan presents our policy makers with a touchy dilemma. Either they can go ahead with plans to arm Pakistan and risk alienating India, or they can take India's objections seriously and forgo the chance to strengthen a weak Asiatic nation which has suddenly become alive to the Communist threat. We would be inclined to look at India's problem in much the same way as did Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. In Parliament on Dec. 23 she cautioned her countrymen (including her brother, the Prime Minister) against exaggerating the issue of American aid to Pakistan. Nevertheless, the issue has become explosive for Indians and is therefore to be approached with caution. An India hostile to the United States might neutralize whatever we hope to gain by arming her next-door neighbor. Before taking any action we should at least attempt to quiet India's worst fears. Despite Mr. Nehru's insistence, there is no danger of the neo-colonialism the Prime Minister fears. Pakistani officials have denied they intend to turn over bases to the United States or join an American alliance. They merely want to buy arms in their own defense. Presumably we would exact a guarantee that these arms would not be used for aggression in Kashmir. What is more important, it might be well to remind Mr. Nehru that, though the Indian subcontinent is a strategic unity, it has not been a political unity since its partition in 1947. Both India and Pakistan are sovereign states, free to pursue independent foreign policies. That freedom includes the right to prepare against the Communist threat, whether or not India fully recognizes its seriousness.

"SECURITY RISKS" GUESSING GAME

When the White House on Oct. 28 announced that 1,456 Federal employees had been dropped in the first four months of the new security program, did this mean the "new team" had found Washington infested with subversives? Senator McCarthy gave out that they were all fired "because of Communist connections and activities or perversion." The President, however, said the causes of dismissal couldn't be broken down.

Is there any way of comparing the Eisenhower housecleaning with that of his predecessor? The answer, it seems, must be "no."

First of all, the new program combines two reasons for dismissal which the Truman program kept separate: "disloyalty" and "security risk." The number of employees ousted under Mr. Truman for "disloyalty" was published. But the number removed or transferred as "security risks" never was.

To make a comparison more confusing, during the first four years of the Truman loyalty check, it called for removal whenever evidence was found affording "reasonable grounds for belief" that an employee was "disloyal"; from April, 1951 on, this was changed to "reasonable doubt" about his loyalty. Even so, by the end of 1951, it seems that only 141 Federal employees had been weeded out on loyalty grounds. Some 2,028 others had left or dropped their applications when told the FBI had evidence against them. There is an annual turnover of 300,000 on Federal payrolls.

As for "security risks," once the problem was recognized (about 1947), such persons unfit for "sensitive" posts were handled via ordinary personnel procedures. In 1950, however, Congress barred them by law from many departments and agencies. No totals were ever assembled of the number dropped for this reason. To judge from the Atomic Energy Commission alone, where 425 were denied clearance and 1,800 resigned or were transferred between 1947 and 1952 on a basis resembling the new Eisenhower standard, the number could have been quite large.

However, other factors make a comparison difficult. The Truman program was applied to personnel who had not been screened. One would expect it to have caught a lot of loyalty and security risks. On the other hand, the Truman Administration took a strong stand against carelessly dubbing employees as "disloyal"—its program's only standard. Moreover, it had a political interest, not only in cleaning house, but in not making itself look needlessly bad. Every loyalty firing was a self-indictment.

The Eisenhower Administration, by contrast, inherited screened personnel. It has eliminated all special safeguards against arbitrary dismissals. And the "new team" could pride itself, as it has, on rolling up an impressive score of firings. Up to now, it has had no reason for holding them to a minimum except its own sense of self-restraint.

But as time goes on, firings of "security risks" will more and more embarrass the party in power. This factor may slow down their rate. R. C. H.

WASHINGTON FRONT

On Christmas Day the President flew down to his "working vacation" at his new cottage beside the National Golf Course near Augusta, Ga., probably the most ferocious links in the country (if one excepts Oakmont, Pa., and Pebble Beach, Calif.). Bobby Jones built the National with every hole patterned after each of the most difficult ones he had played in the United States, Scotland and England. This duffer played it once, and almost gave up golf forever.

The parable is obvious. Mr. Eisenhower is a glutton for punishment. He still keeps trying. Down there he had to write something new—his report to the nation by radio and TV on January 4—but also his annual Report on the State of the Union on January 7 before the Congress, his budget message shortly after, and then his Economic Report. At this point I can see him dropping his ball in that dreadful crossing creek.

Seriously, he is in a bad spot. The legislative program he gave his congressional leaders Dec. 17-19 was, as he outlined it in his daily releases, nothing less than tremendous. The outlines, it is true, were shadowy, but the substance covered about every national problem. Presumably, all of it will be in his State of the Union report.

Many observers, including this one, have accused Mr. Eisenhower of delaying action. A recent acute observer who knows him says this is typical of him. At Shape he listened for almost a year before he launched the Normandy invasion. He listened for almost as long before he gave the blueprint for Nato and the European Defense Community (EDC). He does have the patience which Mussolini postulated for a statesman.

Will that work in Washington in 1954?

Naturally, that remains to be seen. He has obviously in the Presidency followed the pattern of his Army life. He has listened for a year, and then he has spoken. Does he now expect to be obeyed? There are certain indications that his party leaders were startled at the number and magnitude of the legislative proposals he laid before them at the December White House conferences.

Apart from the deep-seated cleavages in the majority party on fundamental foreign and domestic issues, some timid pro-Eisenhower voices are being heard to the effect that it might be better to limit legislation to a restricted number of non-controversial measures that could go through with a minimum of conflict this election year.

One may doubt that the President expects his "dynamic, forward-looking program" to win out this session. But he makes it clear that he expects Republican candidates to run on it in November.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

The Archdiocese of Los Angeles has filed a petition with the California Supreme Court to obtain a clarification of the legal status of Proposition 3. This proposition, passed by the State legislature in 1951 and ratified by referendum Nov. 4, 1952, grants tax-exemption to private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools. It was declared unconstitutional by the State Superior Court on Aug. 17, 1953. A number of Protestant organizations are supporting the petition of the archdiocese. Proposition 3 was discussed in *AMERICA* articles by Anthony T. Bouscaren (6/21/52) and Al Antczak (11/22/52).

► Rev. Jerome D. Sebastian, pastor of St. Elizabeth's Church in Baltimore, was named on Dec. 23 Auxiliary to Most Rev. Francis P. Keough, Archbishop of Baltimore . . . Most Rev. Maxime Tessier, Auxiliary Bishop of Ottawa, was on Dec. 24 made Coadjutor, with right of succession, to Most Rev. Louis Rheaume, O.M.I., Bishop of Timmins, Ont.

► Pope Pius XII has approved the proposal of Maurice Cardinal Feltin, Archbishop of Paris, that next May Day be appointed as a day of prayers for peace offered by the children of the world. The Pope will make an address upon the occasion.

► Dr. Robert A. Milliken, who died Dec. 19 in San Marino, Calif., at the age of 85, was one of the few non-Catholic members of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences. Pope Pius XI, when he reconstituted the academy in 1936, personally nominated Dr. Milliken as a member. The scientist was one of America's outstanding physicists, a Nobel prizewinner for his work on the electron and a pioneer in cosmic-ray research.

► The New Year has already brought a new missal, *St. Norbert's Manual*. Nearly a century ago Archbishop Hughes approved publication of *St. John's Manual*. Forgotten by all except historians, this manual of sacraments and sacramentals, with prayers for all occasions, came to the attention of Rev. L. A. V. De Cleene, O. Praem. Much impressed, Fr. De Cleene set out to adapt it to contemporary needs. He sought at the same time to give the laity a compact but reasonably complete missal. In this he succeeded by the device of indexed loose leaves, which may easily be inserted in the manual for daily use. The manual, priced from \$6 to \$20, is published by St. Agnes Guild, Green Bay, Wisc.

► From France comes word of the death Dec. 1 of Msgr. Eugene Beaupin, 76, longtime director of the Comité Catholique des Amitiés Françaises à l'Etranger. Founder, with the late Yves de la Brière, S.J., of the Union Catholique d'Etudes Internationales, he was widely known for his promotion of Catholic participation in the work of the League of Nations. He was UN consultant for several Catholic organizations. C. K.

Pius XII to the world

Why are men's minds today so blind to "the great light" radiating from Our Infant Saviour? In his Christmas Eve broadcast the Holy Father answered: in large measure because of "the technological spirit" to which modern men have surrendered themselves.

Technological progress in itself, he declared, is from God and leads to God. It is a realization of the divine command: "Fill the earth and subdue it." The Church "loves and favors human progress" and the "enrichment of human life." Believers are drawn closer to the Creator by the "marvels of technology." Like the Magi, they offer the Infant God "the modern conquests of technology: machines and numbers, laboratories and inventions, power and resources."

In people without a religious perspective, however, modern man's domination of nature has created "a sense of self-sufficiency." It has provided a false satisfaction of man's "boundless thirst for knowledge and power." It has supplied a substitute for a religious outlook on human life in the form of "the technological spirit." This prizes as mankind's highest good "the advantage that can be drawn from the forces and elements of nature."

The "panorama" of reality disclosed by this spirit is "deceitful." It excludes, not only many sacred human values, but religious truths, above all those specifically supernatural. Man becomes "a giant of the physical world," but "a pygmy in the realm of the supernatural and eternal." This mechanizing of human life has very serious effects upon human society, social economy, the nature of work and the family. It obscures their moral meaning.

Although Europe is threatened by this "particular form of materialism" no more—perhaps less—than newer regions, the Holy Father took occasion to summon the nations of Europe to "help each other" attain "the common spiritual and moral ends of humanity" by discarding what he called "the false autonomy of material forces." Discrepancies in standards of living and of production which cause divisions among nations must be opposed:

This can and should be done in Europe by forming the continental union of its peoples, different indeed, but geographically and historically bound together. . . . The time, then, seems mature for the idea to become reality . . .

Why continue to hesitate? The end is clear; the needs of nations are obvious to all.

The risk involved in embarking upon this venture, he admitted, is real—but it is “a necessary risk.”

Parallel to this action *among* the nations of Europe must be genuine Christian social action *within* them. "If order does not reign in the internal life of nations," he warned, "it is vain to expect a European union and the security of peace in the world."

The Holy Father's searching analysis of modern man's absorption in applied science shows the road to peace requires an ascent to a higher vision.

EDITORIALS

Court curtails States' rights

Political analysts must be wondering whether the Supreme Court, as Mr. Dooley once averred, really does follow the election returns. In the fall of 1952 the voters chose a party which promised to cut the sprawling Federal establishment down to size and to give a big part of the game back to the States. Yet, in two decisions handed down on December 14, the Court restricted the rights of States in labor cases and vindicated those of the Federal Government.

The first case concerned a Chevrolet dealer in California who discharged a worker for union activity and refused to bargain with a local of the International Association of Machinists. The union charged the company with a violation of the Taft-Hartley Act. The company contended that since its operations were on a State basis, it was not subject to Federal labor laws. Beaten in the lower courts, the company appealed to the Supreme Court. After a close look at the nature of auto franchise agreements, the Court, by an 8-to-1 vote, concluded that a much more intimate bond than a purchaser-vendor relationship existed between auto manufacturers and their dealers, and that as a consequence the latter were also involved in interstate commerce.

The effect of that ruling is to extend the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board over about 40,000 franchised auto dealers, and over thousands of other dealers as well.

In a second decision the Court unanimously ruled that State courts may not grant injunctions in labor cases where relief is available under Federal law. The case concerned a Pennsylvania storage and transfer company which successfully petitioned a State court to enjoin the picketing of its premises by a Teamster local. This picketing was illegal under State law. The union argued that *peaceful* picketing is subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the NLRB. Upholding the union, the Court said:

We conclude that when Federal power constitutionally is exerted for the protection of public and private interests, or both, it becomes the supreme law of the land and cannot be curtailed, circumvented or extended by State procedure merely because it will apply some doctrine of private right.

These decisions are a blow to many businessmen, as well as to States' Righters in Washington. They will almost certainly combine in the next session of Congress to undo them by legislation.

Bricker opponents unite

Senator Bricker, in the name of conservatism, still insists on amending the Constitution in order to give Congress control over the President's powers to make treaties and executive agreements. The recently organized Committee for the Defense of the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power regards his proposal as actually revolutionary.

The composition of this committee is as impressive as its title. It is literally loaded with the most conservative and most highly respected constitutional lawyers, businessmen and civic leaders. National chairman is the noted authority on constitutional history, Professor Emeritus Edward S. Corwin of Princeton University. Co-chairmen of the committee of sponsors are Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former U. S. Commander-in-Chief in Germany, and John W. Davis, former president of the American Bar Association and dean of American constitutional lawyers.

Among the 36 distinguished sponsors of the committee is Prof. Joseph O'Meara Jr., dean of the School of Law of Notre Dame University. Some time ago Sen. Alexander Wiley, leader of the opposition to the Bricker amendment in the Senate, asked the deans of America's leading law schools to comment on the Bricker proposal. Of the 27 who replied, 25 were opposed to it, including Dean O'Meara, who wrote:

As my predecessor here [Clarence E. Manion] is one of the more vigorous of the partisans of the amendment, I think you should know that I am in complete accord with your views on this subject . . . Those who are working so hard for the adoption of the Bricker amendment, for the most part, at any rate, are people who want to secede from the world.

It was Mr. Manion who asserted at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearing on April 6, 1953 that

The unanimous conclusion of all legal students of this matter of treaty law is . . . that the constitutional liberty of our citizens, the constitutional integrity of the States of the Union, and last but certainly not least, the sovereign independence of the United States itself is menaced by the threatened supremacy of treaty law.

The Committee for Defense of the Constitution numbers, besides the legal lights among its sponsors, hundreds of "legal students of this matter of treaty law." They oppose the Bricker amendment because they believe it is a revolutionary attempt to destroy our traditional form of government. "It would alter the existing division and balance of powers between the legislative and executive branches," declares their formal statement, and "impair if not destroy the independence of the executive branch in the conduct of foreign affairs."

The new committee will have served a useful purpose if it does no more than destroy the myth that American constitutional lawyers unanimously support the Bricker amendment.

Military policy in Asia

The truce in Korea was sooner or later bound to have an effect on our long-range military policy in Asia. The December 28 announcement of President Eisenhower that United States ground forces in Korea would be "progressively reduced" gave some indication of what that policy will be. In general, we will avoid heavy concentrations of ground troops and tend to rely on our Navy and our Air Force. The latter, declared the President, "possesses far greater mobility and greater striking power than ever before."

This policy of reducing our armed forces in Korea does not mean that we are leaving the war-torn country in the lurch. President Eisenhower issued a clear warning to the enemy. We will meet a renewed attack, he said, "with even greater effect than heretofore."

The new policy rests upon a well-grounded conviction that the enemy is no more anxious to reopen hostilities in Korea than we are. A new act of aggression in violation of the armistice would disrupt his program for developing the industrial potential of North Korea, which, according to reports, is proceeding apace. Communist China seems bent on integrating the industrial economies of Manchuria and North Korea. Red regimes have never yet been known rashly to risk losing an asset they actually held in their hands.

Our policy of gradual, though limited, withdrawal from Korea means we accept, against the oft-expressed will of Syngman Rhee, the artificial division of the peninsula as an inevitable consequence of the cold war. Even if the South Korean President has been serious in his threat to continue the war on his own to reunify Korea, our new military policy should give him pause. The United States is apparently determined never again to be sucked into a war of position on the Korean model if it can help it. Our military thinking evidently has come to favor a war of movement with emphasis on the mobility and quality of our armed forces rather than on their number.

Whether or not we can effectively counteract renewed aggression in Asia by relying on the superior mobility of combined land-sea forces, airborne troops and the Air Force is something for the military experts to decide. Given the situation in Asia, such a military policy seems reasonable.

The entire continent is a tinder box. Even now a threat to another country has developed as Ho Chi Minh's Communist army has cut Indo-China in two and stands on the borders of neighboring Thailand. A New York Times report of December 28 tells of the joint Soviet-Chinese development of Sinkiang and Tibet as military bases. The Moscow-Peiping axis thus threatens the whole Asian subcontinent.

It would be folly to expect us to be prepared to wage Korean-type wars at every danger spot in Asia. We must rely on our own mobility and the active cooperation of those Asiatic nations which are willing to defend their freedom. Hence we cannot remain bogged down in Korea.

Religious toleration in a world society

Gustave Weigel, S.J.

PHILOSOPHERS AND POETS have always dreamed in beautiful colors of the day either past or future when men live in a single society enveloping and protecting all other social groupings. This thought has always been appealing to the idealist and romantic youth, but mankind as an existent reality has showed no great readiness to actualize such a dream. In fact, sober observers have declared that such a single, unitary world-society is impossible. For them, the inevitable selfishness of individuals and of the limited societies which they form prevents the juridical organization of the great society which is mankind.

Today the thesis of the impossibility of a world society, juridically structured, needs re-examination. It is no longer so clear that this impossibility is objective. The ever increasing numbers of human beings populating the earth, the conquest of space and time by modern means of locomotion and communication, the widespread destructiveness of conflicts between un-united nations, are pushing the men of our day to do something more than dream of a world society. There are many who think that it alone can effect the survival of mankind, and man's urge to survival is so great that he will adopt all means necessary thereunto, even though in the past such means as world federations were judged impossible.

For those who are engaged in the planning of the new society many obstacles present themselves. Religion, one of the strongest forces in the making of human history, seems a divisive element rather than a unifying cement. Islam divides Mohammedan from Hindu, Catholicism separates its adherents from Protestants, Judaism cuts off Israel from the Gentiles. Will not religion itself be the great stumbling block to world union, even though at first gaze the notion of the fatherhood of one God and the brotherhood of all men should seem to be a unifying force?

This disconcerting reflection need no longer terrify the pioneers in the work of juridically organizing the nations into one family. The message of Pope Pius XII to the national convention of the Italian Catholic Union of Jurists in Rome on December 6, 1953 shows the way out of the religious difficulty. In his carefully meditated study, the Pope outlines the juridical solution of the problem of religious disunion.

The Holy Father makes it quite clear that the world union our age is contemplating cannot be built on

AMERICA is here breaking its rule by publishing as an article this address by Fr. Weigel on the religious aspects of the Holy Father's discourse to Italian Catholic Jurists. Fr. Weigel delivered this address over the Vatican Radio on December 16. The author, who was professor (1937-48) and dean (1942-48) of theology at the Catholic University of Chile, is professor of ecclesiology at Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

the foundation of a common religion or in terms of one religious vision. The union can only be based on the one universal natural law which is achieved by human reason alone. The bearing of such a new juridical society to religion is clearly explained in accord with the perennial doctrine of Catholicism.

According to the Pope, the position of the new juridical world order in the matter of religion will be friendly and cordial toleration. This word has hideous overtones for many men today because it seems so negative, so condescending, so smugly narrow-minded. However, in the discourse of the Pope, the notion is positive and broad. In the realm of

medicine the word "toleration" has a meaning which is only good. If a man cannot take penicillin because instead of doing him good, it threatens his life, we say that he is intolerant to penicillin. Yet this does not mean that he is fanatically and blindly opposed to antibiotics, but only that he cannot assimilate them to his advantage. If he can take the wonder drug, we say that he is tolerant to it. In such a context the word "tolerance" denotes an enriching quality which is highly desirable and salutary.

In the same sense the new world union would be tolerant of different and theoretically conflicting religions. The new society would not try to impose one definite religion on all men nor make such religious uniformity a condition for the new federation. The ecumenical society would protect and befriend religion and religious belief without taking on itself the office of becoming the arbiter of what that religion must be, for it is not the function of a purely natural organization to presume to such a role. It is God alone who tells us what the true religion is, and He has done so supernaturally, using media which are above and beyond the powers of nature. And even God tolerates the existence of religions other than the one He Himself has structured, and prudent governments will do well to imitate their Creator.

What is more, governments in a world society would have the obligation of practising such tolerance. The state is not an Hegelian idolatrous absolute but only the working instrument for society's welfare. The peace of the citizenry and their prosperity in the secular order are the state's sole purpose. Peace means a condition of freedom compatible with public order and the exigencies of living together. Moreover, for the end of conjoint harmonious living in a concrete



society conditioned by its own history and culture, it will be necessary for the state of that society to accept situations not of its own making but inherent in the evolution of the community it serves.

At times such situations, from a theological point of view, are not ideal, but in vital practice the state is obliged to maintain them lest peace and its consequent freedoms be destroyed by the state, whose only purpose is to preserve them. In the new world union it cannot be the obligation of the state to deal with the theological question of religious truth. Its sole obligation will be to keep together in peace and harmony citizens who are free and responsible agents, who will one day meet their Maker to give a reckoning for their personal religious decisions.

This lofty doctrine of Pope Pius XII, the highest authentic teacher of the Catholic Church, will be enthusiastically received by all men of good will. It certainly clarifies the obscurities lurking in the minds of so many of our non-Catholic brethren who feel that the Catholic Church is a conspiracy to rob them of their right to follow conscience in their religious decisions. It will encourage those who are striving for world union because they will know that the great spiritual force of Catholicism is propitious to their

efforts. Above all, it will end the accusation of not a few who assert that the Catholic Church has a double norm for solving Church-State relationships.

According to the accusation, the Church demands liberty for personal religious belief in countries where Catholics constitute a minority, while Catholic uniformity is imposed on all citizens in lands where Catholics form a political majority. The doctrine of the Pope is wholly different, for he speaks of a tolerant world-wide society formed by individual sovereign states, Catholic and non-Catholic, which will govern in their own communities in accord with the principles obtaining in the total world federation. This, according to the Pope, is in thorough harmony with the abiding doctrine of the Catholic Church.

The Pope's discourse makes it evident again how much the Catholic Church strives for a lasting peace for the whole world. It is not the peace induced by a coercive government, but the harmony and concord of free communities in a world where uniformity of vision is not to be found.

When the world society envisioned by Pope Pius will eventually come into being, no one can say. However, the ideal is inspiring. It shows the path we must follow in our precarious search for peace.

U. S. rebuke to Israel

Vincent S. Kearney

A FULL-PAGE ADVERTISEMENT in a recent issue of New York's *Daily News* announcing a "Rally for Israel" invited one and all to "come and hear the facts about the recent critical developments in the Middle East." By what title the local politicians who crowded the speaker's platform could have been expected to improve on the "facts" as presented in the official UN report of these same "critical developments" was not immediately clear. There was no mistaking, however, that a sudden case of jitters on the part of Israel had impelled Zionist organizations in the United States to take up the cudgels in her defense with more than ordinary urgency.

Israel and her sympathizers had grounds for their apprehensions. Twice the United States had shaken a big stick at the country to which the Arab world cynically refers as America's "favorite nation" in the Middle East. A State Department decision, announced on October 18, to withhold Israel's share of Mutual Security aid until the UN could sift the facts behind an Israeli-Syrian dispute over power development hurt right where Israel, already straitened economically, could ill afford to be hurt. Israel's attack on the Jordanian village of Kibya during the night of October 14-15 had not only provoked a sharp note of pro-

test from Washington but had prompted the United States to bring the issue before the UN. Israel's worst fears were confirmed on November 24 when the Security Council condemned her for the horrifying raid on the Arab village, during which fifty-three men, women and children were mercilessly slaughtered.

The UN based its censure of Israel on the report submitted on October 28 by Maj. Gen. Vagn Bennike, Chief of Staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine. The Danish army officer was appointed to this post last June 9 by Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold. Since then he had twice attempted to bring Israel and Jordan together to discuss ways and means of easing the tensions between the two countries. The situation has been almost hopelessly complicated, however, by a constant problem of infiltration (in violation of the Arab-Israeli armistice agreements) from both sides of the 400-mile Israeli-Jordanian border.

BORDER STRIFE

The Kibya incident was but the culmination of a long series of sporadic raids emanating from either side of the frontier. Yet, as General Bennike pointed out in his report, Kibya "stands out among other border incidents." Its damning feature was the fact that the foray was carried out by a detachment of fully equipped Israeli troops. So the presumption is that they were acting under orders. By thus taking the law into her own hands, Israel was responsible for an act which could well have been the prelude to Round Two of the Palestine war.

Israel's defense is that whatever attacks she has

made over the Jordanian frontier have been retaliatory. Over the five-year period since an uneasy armistice put an end to actual fighting in Palestine, she contends, Jordanian Arabs have violated the border more often than Israelis. She protests that Arab raids have the effect of wearing thin the nerves of the Jewish settlers and of making normal life on the frontier virtually impossible.

All this is true. In the twelve-month period beginning in June, 1952, the UN Mixed Armistice Commission has ruled against Jordan in 159 out of 184 cases of border violations. These border violations on the part of the Arabs are not to be passed off lightly.

At the same time, the Arab action should be considered against the background of the whole impossible situation in Palestine. Israeli-Jordanian border tensions are the result of an armistice which long ago became unmanageable because of the complete economic disparity between the two sides of the demarcation line separating the two countries.

ARAB REFUGEES

Just east of this line is an enclave into which are crammed 485,000 Arabs, mostly refugees from prewar Palestine. About 70,000 of these live in Arab Jerusalem or surrounding towns. The remainder are in villages or camps. Except for those who subsist on UN rations, these Arabs are dependent on agriculture. Some 67,000 of their number are destitute, because the armistice line separating them from the fields and farms whence they had been driven during the Palestine war has cut them off from their means of livelihood.

Under such circumstances tragedy is bound to ensue. When, as here, the frontier is marked off by a line of white stones across which the inequality is evident to all, and when the land on the richer side used to belong to the men on the poorer, looting and depredation are to be expected. Those who have been dispossessed need no urging to cross the border to snatch what they consider to be their rightful property.

Whether or not Israeli military retaliation of the proportions of the Kibya incident is justified under such conditions, such forays do no good to Israel. They do not frighten off the irresponsible Arab marauders who are destitute beyond frightening. They do not cow Arab governments to sue for the peace Israel says she wants. On the contrary, they only serve to isolate Israel more and more behind the encircling ring of hatred of which she has so often complained to the world.

Almost simultaneously with the Kibya incident there came to a head the dispute over Israel's power development project near the Syrian border. For some time Israel had been engaged in draining a marshy area near Lake Huleh to salvage land for settlers, to prevent the wasteful evaporation of much-needed water and to pave the way for a power project. The plan entailed what General Bennike designated an unfair diversion of water away from Syrian fields. Acting in his capacity of UN truce supervisor, General

Bennike gave Israel orders to stop work on the project. These orders Israel defied.

Israel's power project was not so clear-cut a violation of the Arab-Israeli armistice agreements as was the Kibya incident. The project is located in a "demilitarized zone" over which Israel has jurisdiction. Her jurisdiction, however, is plainly limited. As General Bennike noted in his report, "the situation" on the Israeli-Syrian border "would be greatly eased" if both sides adhered to the interpretation of the armistice agreements regarding the demilitarized zones made on April 25, 1951 by Dr. Ralph Bunche and agreed to by both sides. The then acting mediator in Palestine wrote: "Neither side can validly claim to have a free hand in a demilitarized zone over civilian activity, while military activity is totally excluded."

It was Israel's ignoring of this agreement and the defiance of General Bennike's orders which prompted Secretary of State Dulles to cut off \$50 million in funds allocated to Israel under the Mutual Security Act. Mr. Dulles remarked that the decision (later reversed when Israel actually stopped work on the project pending UN investigation of the case) was the "cumulative effect" of evidence that Israel habitually chooses to disregard UN rulings which do not suit her. He was undoubtedly also thinking of Israel's action in gradually transferring her Government offices from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, despite an injunction of the UN Trusteeship Council to do nothing which would prejudice the future status of the Holy City.

Arab-Israeli tensions had evidently become infectious. Other nerves besides those of the principals in the conflict were becoming frayed. For the first time, the United States showed itself to be out of patience with its "favorite nation" in the Middle East. A revision of U. S. policy toward the area seemed to be in the wind. This was the most notable development to arise out of the Kibya incident and the Israeli-Syrian dispute.

U. S. POLICY REVISION

As a matter of fact the first inkling of such a change had come as early as last January when Secretary Dulles returned from his fact-finding tour of the Middle East. No doubt moved by the evident bitterness and antagonism of the Arab peoples toward the West, particularly toward the United States, he then remarked that the ferment there demanded a review of American objectives in the area. Significantly, State Department officials began talking of a new, "impartial policy" with regard to Israel and the Arab nations.

Whatever this may prove to mean in the concrete, it does imply an admission that our policy toward Israel has been set in a wrong perspective ever since 1947, when the partition of Palestine became the issue which set the Middle East aflame. A sincere admiration for the Zionist ideal had no doubt played a part in the endorsement successive American Presidents since Woodrow Wilson had given the movement.

But what really determined our full support of an unworkable UN partition plan in November, 1947 was domestic political pressure.

The late Secretary of Defense James Forrestal recounts in his *Diaries* how Under Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett confessed to him that "never in his life had he been subjected to as much pressure [from Zionist sympathizers] as he had been in the three days" the UN General Assembly was debating the partition plan. As for Mr. Forrestal himself, his forthright opinion was that the Palestine issue should have been taken out of the domain of domestic politics and viewed in the light of U. S. security interests—an opinion which brought him more criticism than any of his actions during nine years of service in Washington.

The present tensions in the Holy Land, of which the Kibya incident and the Israeli-Syrian dispute are merely the symptoms, proves that the criticism of Mr. Forrestal's views were unjustified. If Israel is today surrounded by a ring of hatred, it is because of the original injustice done the indigenous peoples of Palestine who were forced, not only by Israeli soldiery but by UN fiat, to make way for close to a million refugees from Eastern Europe. If that hatred has spilled over and poisoned Arab-Western relations, it is because the West has consistently acquiesced in the injustice. In our own case our acquiescence has too often been dictated by considerations of in-

ternal politics. Israel has needlessly become for the Arab a symbol of our indifference to his interests. Such an eventuality Mr. Forrestal not only feared but openly predicted.

This sour outcome and the fact that Soviet Russia stands ready to fish in the troubled waters of the Middle East force us to take a second look at the area to see where our security interests lie. They lie not with the country which Arthur Krock of the *New York Times*, quoting a high Washington official, recently characterized as the "spoiled child of American partisan jockeying" but with the nations which make up the traditional Middle East.

It would indeed be foolhardy to expect that the *fait accompli* which is Israel could ever be changed so that, at this late date, adequate restitution could be made to the million displaced Arab refugees. But, we can disabuse the Arab world of its conviction that American Governments, whatever political party may be in power, will continue indefinitely to be partial toward Israel.

Viewed in this light, our recent merited rebukes to Israel may mark the beginning of a more sympathetic relationship between the United States and the Arab world. Creating an atmosphere of sympathetic understanding there is the first task of our foreign policy—if we are to prevent this strategic segment of the world, already perilously close to being lost to the West, from going down a Communist drain.

1954: recession not depression

Philip S. Land

THE YEAR 1953 has again confounded the prophets of doom who for the past six years have been dining into our ears their predictions of depression. Yet, in spite of the magnificent performance, real trouble spots showed up in the economy as 1953 wore out, and by December more troubled voices were asking whether 1954 would bring the long-expected depression.

One eminent British economist, Colin Clark, went so far as to predict that the United States may well see in 1954 a depression to match that of 1929. Practically no American economists agree with this British estimate. As the new year gets under way, we can profitably ask the question, why don't they?

The answer is that while most American economists go along with Clark's analysis of the trouble spots, they have what he cannot have—the "feel" of the American economy. That feel, they find, is basically mighty good. The economy is in sound health. To get at this feel you have first to look at 1953's sick

In the last week of December allied economic associations met in Washington, D. C. Of 300 experts present at a discussion devoted to business prospects for 1954 a majority agreed that we will see an "orthodox recession." A strong minority preferred to describe the downturn as an "inventory recession." No one expected a depression. Fr. Land, S.J., a contributing editor of this Review, here explains why a moderate recession and no depression is to be looked for.

spots and then at 1954's prospects for remedying them.

The trouble spots can be detected right in the same figures that announce 1953's banner performance. For the economic indicators tell us that we are sliding off from our truly remarkable peaks. The Federal Reserve Board's index of production worked its way down from March's 243 to a December low of 228. The Department of Commerce reported a \$3.5-billion year-end dip in gross national product (the money value of all goods and services produced during the year).

Underlying the down-drift of production and income are certain weak spots in business activity. To mention just a few of the most carefully watched indicators, steel is operating at "only" 86 per cent of capacity (a whopping output to be sure) and production of passenger cars in December hit the year's low. Orders for machine tools (a prime indicator of business activity) drifted steadily downward from February to end the year 18 per cent below the figure

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for the corresponding month of 1952. And freight-carloadings were 8 per cent under those of 1952. Meanwhile December unemployment was up almost 300,000 above that of November, and for the first time in the year employment registered below the corresponding 1952 figure. Again, by December slowing production had knocked out most overtime work, and the factory workweek stood at 40 hours, down 1.2 hours from December of a year ago.

If you want a one-word summary of the preceding statistical picture, you could call it trouble in business inventories. These inventories are the additions manufacturers make to their stocks of raw materials, and wholesalers and retailers make to the stocks of goods they expect to sell. Back in the April-June period of 1953, businesses were adding to already huge inventories at a \$9-billion-a-year clip. That rate was halved in the next three months. This reduced rate, we shall see, is a good thing in the longer run. But it showed up on the spot as a bad thing, for it brought an end to overtime, some job lay-offs and less personal spending money.

LESS BUYING

Why this thinning-out of inventories? There are two answers. The more obvious concerns spending by consumers, business and government. Consumers were simply too well-stocked with such hard goods as cars, TV sets and refrigerators. The public by year's end was trailing its 1952 buying spree by only about 2 per cent; but it was trailing. This decline showed up in less willingness from June to December to launch into installment buying.

But the public weren't the only ones to cut their spending. Business had been at it ahead of them. According to the December *Newsletter* of New York's National City Bank, businessmen had made decisions about inventory which were partly independent of the rate at which consumers were buying. What had happened was that they no longer saw any reason to fear shortages. Besides, since suppliers were stepping lively to fill orders, they could restock fast. For these reasons they were inclined to shorten stocks and to withhold commitments for new orders. Government, meanwhile, had reduced defense buying by about \$2 billion, enough to cause a halt, for example, in inventory-building by the steelmakers.

We come now to our main question. Why won't there be serious economic trouble in 1954? Why doesn't the slowdown of inventory-building (which will continue through early months of the year) spell depression? Why shouldn't we find a black cloud in the tendency of consumers to spend less as the new year begins? Why won't a combined reduction of about 6 per cent in business spending on new plant and equipment and perhaps as high as \$5 billion in Federal Government spending add up to a precipitous falling-off of business activity?

We can put our question in a more positive form. Why do 138 of the country's top economists (pooled

by the industry statisticians, F. W. Dodge Corporation) agree that 1954 will be our second-best year—under 1953, perhaps by about 5 per cent?

The answer, to go back to our beginning, is that the "feel" of the economy is essentially good. First, the soft spots show no sign of expanding. Second, advances in other areas offset somewhat the retardations that have occurred. Third, this seems to be an "inventory recession." That should mean only scattered losses as inventories are being worked off. Another encouraging thing to note about this inventory adjustment is that the adjustments are taking place a few at a time, with the result that some lines of manufacturing are starting up again as others begin their downward adjustment. Seasonal upswings in spring buying of automobiles, for instance, will help smooth these adjustments. What's particularly heartening is our experience of the 1949 inventory recession. By mid-1950, just before shooting broke out in Korea, we were pretty well out of the recession.

True, most economists don't see the upturn coming so soon this time; but neither do they see it delayed beyond the end of the year. At worst, then, 1954 should mean a 5 per cent decline in activity below a full employment level and a 3 per cent decline in incomes.

If we turn now to sustainers of spending we find further reason for cautious optimism. Let's look first at consumer spending. No one expects the consumer to repeat his 1949 performance. In that year he confounded the businessman's expectations of a very bad year by a rush of buying. The consumer's bulge of hard-goods buying in 1953 has left him too well stocked for a repetition of 1949-50.

SPENDING INCENTIVES

Still, as *Fortune* remarked in December, we know that the consumer is not going to drop below his present level of spending. That would constitute a reversal of his steady advance over several years in raising his standard of living. Nor need he retreat. For in his \$240 billion of personal saving he has several funds that can be quickly turned into cash. One fund is the \$24 billion he stashed away in mutual savings banks. Moreover, right now Americans are saving at a very high rate, somewhere nearer 8 than 7 per cent of their earnings. They could, by a drop of one percentage point, inject another \$3 billion into the stream of spending.

But there are other props to private spending. While there will be little overtime pay in 1954, wage advances will probably sustain the present total wage income. The buying power of those experiencing temporary unemployment will be bolstered by unemployment insurance. Old-age security payments and farm supports also sustain buying power. Finally, January's 11-per-cent cut in income taxes is calculated to spur the public into spending.

In some ways the most encouraging news of spending plans is this: businessmen are so confident about the future that they will spend only 6 per cent less

on new plant and equipment in 1954 than their huge \$28-billion outlay in 1953. The construction industry, according to the Department of Commerce, will nearly match 1953's booming \$34.7-billion outlay. You just can't have depression with that kind of business spending.

We come next to the question of offsets to the \$5-billion cut in defense spending. A first offset is the increased *private* spending that can be expected to follow upon the January reductions in personal income tax and the end of the businessman's excise profits tax. (Additional corporate and excise tax reductions scheduled for April will probably be allowed to go through

if conditions demand further stimulation of private spending.)

Other offsets of considerable importance we can only mention and leave for future consideration. These include a \$2-billion increase in the rate of spending by State governments; a home building program, that, with more money available and Federal backing of mortgages, may match 1953's \$1.1 million; an increased export of hard goods, again with the encouragement of the Federal Government; finally, a Federal \$4-billion public-works program.

If the net outlook from all these considerations is a sobering one, it does not justify pessimism.

Mauriac: seer of the ordinary

Michael F. Moloney

The more serious-minded critics have in recent years come to deplore with startling unanimity the dehumanization of contemporary American fiction. Van Wyck Brooks, certainly one of the most eminent commentators on the American literary scene, past and present, has described the protagonists created by the younger writers of fiction as "... generally corrupt, often depraved, alcoholics and morons, incestuous children, like the monkeys, quacks, crooks and whores of Evelyn Waugh's novels that seem to embody a hatred of humankind." The *Saturday Review* has referred editorially to the citizens of the same fictional world as

... neurotic and bloodless characters who have no consciousness of the richness and meaning of life, who have forgotten the very names and the careers of their ancestors, and who only know that their fathers and mothers spoiled them or drove them to the verge of homosexuality or insanity.

Many readers will readily concede the justice and accuracy of these indictments. But when the *Saturday Review* critic offers as a major remedy a large prescription of patriotism, the rediscovery of "... what kind of men and women were our ancestors, and what faith they had in their own futures and in the destiny of the United States," one is a bit perturbed. Not that patriotism is not an admirable virtue. But patriotism is subject to frenetic interpretations. Whether a literature avowedly patriotic in orientation would have a greater integrity than the literature of denigration may be open to very real doubt.

On this matter American writers and critics may learn much from the theory and practice of François Mauriac. The French patriotism of Mauriac needs no exegesis. Yet the search which goes on in all of his

LITERATURE AND ARTS

novels is into the heart, not of the Frenchman, but of man. Moreover, Mauriac's men and women are, like their creator, provincials. Physically they may have escaped to Paris, but spiritually they are always children of the Midi, the blistering land of vines and pines.

In his provincialism Mauriac is a disciple of Balzac and Flaubert. He has protested that since the time of these masters French writers have used provincial life only for the purposes of caricature (*La vie et la mort d'un poète*) and has insisted upon the inexhaustibility of provincial life as a literary source. "The French provincial family ... would still furnish a Balzac with more subjects than he would be able to treat in a whole lifetime" (*Le roman*). The essential strength of Balzac derives from his knowledge of provincial life. "It is not by his duchesses that he is eternized but by his Grandets" (*La province*).

The outwardly undistracted life of the province provides Mauriac with that knowledge of the human heart which our abler critics have found so distressingly absent from recent American fiction. It is doubtless true that the fixed and standardized artificiality of urban American life has given rise to the temptation to slickly superficial interpretation to which even our most gifted writers have succumbed. Urban life has, in effect, insulated modern man within the superficialities of existence.

Life in the provinces, on the contrary, offers escape neither from one's neighbor nor from one's self.

Mr. Moloney, author of John Donne: His Flight from Medievalism, is on the English faculty at Marquette.

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Mauriac, to be sure, takes no idyllic view of its stifling, frustrating tenuity. It is without good conversation and without social grace. The provincial families tend to become closed units where mutual interest is as likely to be motivated by hate as by love. But at least isolation of the individual is impossible. One man learns to know another, if only through the necessity of defending himself.

As a result, the writer of provincial origin comes to know life with an intimacy that is impossible elsewhere. What is equally important, he arrives at a knowledge of his own nature. Nothing distracts him from entering into himself. The young provincial is fortunate in the very narrowness of his youth for he is taught the significance of the insignificant. This is of immense moment, for, says Mauriac, what distinguishes a novelist or dramatist from the rest of mankind is just that gift of seeing great mysteries in the most commonplace events.

In declaring that what identifies the great creative artist is the ability to see the significant in the insignificant, the mysterious in the commonplace, Mauriac is voicing anew the perennial problem of relating in art the particular and the universal. The provincial (we should say regional) writer, unless his powers be very great, may fail to transcend the particularity of his details. In his study of men, man may escape him. The cosmopolitan writer, unless his powers be equally great, will find it difficult to supply the rootlessness of his cosmopolites. In his pursuit of man he loses contact with men.

The greatest literature from Homer to the present day has been grounded in the provincial—that is to say, its heroes have given voice to the specific concerns of a specific epoch in the specific accents of that epoch. In this sense Aeneas is as much a provincial as Odysseus, though he speaks for imperial Rome, not barren Ithaca.

But along with their particularities, the great provincials of literature have possessed universality. Odysseus is not only a petty king. He is Everyman, yearning for wife and child and domestic hearth. Aeneas, for all his symbolizing the future power and grandeur of Rome (this is his provincialism), was seeking to secure home and country, just as, without his certainty of election, have been tens of thousands of humbler soldiers in our time.

Mauriac's own eminence as a novelist derives from this same capacity for making his characters at once particular and universal. Thérèse Desqueyroux inherits her strength and passion from her Argelouse ancestors and their Cybele-driven fields and forests. But she is more than a younger sister of Emma Bovary; she is also of the race of Hermione and Hedda Gabler and every other woman to whom love has promised more than it has given. Maria Cross, had her husband lived, would have been a respectable but commonplace wife and mother. Her husband dies, and her perturbed life finds an echo in the thousands of feminine hearts that have been spared her destiny.

What strikes the reader who brings to Mauriac an acquaintance with modern American fiction is the depth and resistance of the characterization. His men and women are not merely selfish or unselfish, shrewd or torpid. From his youth Mauriac has studied the people of his beloved Landes too carefully not to know how complex is the blending of human personality. Compare Thérèse Desqueyroux with her contemporary, Hemingway's Lady Brett. Thérèse is a tortured soul, some of whose traits we have seen in our wives and sisters, and others, if we have had the experience, in the police court. Lady Brett is a slut. Or put Maria Cross beside Fitzgerald's Nicole Diver. The latter is *papier-mâché*, the former flesh and blood. I have chosen Hemingway and Fitzgerald for comparison because nothing essentially new by way of spiritual timbre has been introduced into American fiction since their emergence. The state of the contemporary novel was already prophesied a third of a century ago.

That patriotic salt should be suggested as the requisite savor for a dispirited contemporary literature symbolizes the ideological confusion of our time. The boisterous exaltation of our own virtues in newspaper editorials and political speeches, the upsurge everywhere of a determined nationalism, the inclination to condemn out of hand every one who does not see eye to eye with American interest or policy—all of these are infinitely remote from the true literary spirit. The petty rivalries of ancient Athens are not of much moment now, but in her ageless tragic drama we still find a significant and moving narration of how young men strove and died, and young women loved and mourned, and the old of both sexes pondered the riddle of the human lot. No one would insist that the fierce political loyalties of Dante contributed significantly to the splendor of the *Divine Comedy*, but men of all creeds and no creed are gripped by his picture of sin and purgation and redemption.

I confess to distortion. The *Saturday Review* critic is appealing not for a jingoistic patriotism but for a return to the greatness of the past—to "... a sense of the unity of man and the conflict of good and evil in which evil need not always triumph." And it is easy to accept his irritation with those Americans who "... are in danger of losing their sense of perspective, as if they were a species of men born for the crises of the moment and advancing toward some undiscoverable, brief and dark future."

But in our irritation with the defeatism so prevalent in certain sectors of the American literary scene, it would be unfortunate if the literate gave succor to the no less dangerous complementary evil. We must hope for a literature which, while remaining faithful to the particular circumstances of family circle, social life, economic milieu and national aspiration, will remain faithful also to the constitution of the universal republic of mankind.

What writers of American fiction generally have declined to see in the past three decades is that Ameri-

can life on the farm and in the factory, in the village and in the city, derives from the native dignity of humanity, ungilded and unperverted, at grips with the basic problems of existence. They have sought instead either to portray life as gaudily envisioned by the bright young men in the advertising agencies, or to see it refracted through a lumpy and frequently immature personal philosophy. Some of the most important of them have refused to recognize that man's heart is the secret crucible where the temporal and the eternal meet and fuse.

Whither collective bargaining?

EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES

By W. S. Woytinsky and Associates.
The Twentieth Century Fund. 777p.
\$7.50

The Twentieth Century Fund aptly characterizes this impressive work (the result of five years research) as "a fact-finding survey of employment and wages [that] becomes a source book on labor market processes and collective bargaining." For this little "encyclopedia," buttressed by a wealth of statistics and some significant opinion surveys, covers almost the entire structure and operation of employment in the United States. The purposes of the book are to help labor and management to understand each other, to recognize the forces of supply and demand operating through collective bargaining and to appraise the facts ultimately determining employment conditions.

General readers as well as practitioners will find in any of the four sections expert, but simple, essays on a score and more of problems related to employment and wages. Part I presents a dynamic theory of wages which stresses that both wages and profits are derived from the same source, the growing national product, and can be increased simultaneously. From this premise the study explores growth of production, national income and wages in the past and their future outlook.

Part 2 surveys factors affecting the relative bargaining strength of labor and management, such as labor laws, administrative practices and regulations, and labor unions. Part 3 examines the problems of employment and unemployment, including the composition of the labor force, demand for labor and various patterns of employment. Part 4 covers such problems of wage rates and earnings as forms of remuneration, differentials, relation of earnings to age, sex, race, industry and geographic area.

Among the important findings of Prof. Woytinsky and his associates that are calculated to guide future collective bargaining are these: 1) if money wages rise appreciably faster on the average than output per man-hour, the price level will go up, canceling some or all of the gains to the worker; 2) if economic and other factors are about as favorable as can be expected, average real hourly earnings can probably rise approximately at an average of about three per cent a year; 3) most important factor in this rise will be technological development—increased use of mechanical power and improved devices and methods of production; 4) higher output per man-hour can be used to raise wages or lower prices; we have more often used such increases to raise wages, with a resulting stable or advancing price level.

As is customary with a Twentieth Century Fund study, a committee offers recommendations following the study. Among the recommendations affecting the central problem of wage-making, the labor and management members came up with the following. First, we might expect unions, as a rough rule, to accept raises approximating the probable rate of increase of output per man-hour for the economy as a whole; second, over the long run the general level of prices ought to be kept approximately stable.

The committee believes that free collective bargaining has proved itself, but feels that it should be improved to reflect more accurately the interest of all parties, including the consumer. The committee did not say how stable rather than falling prices were more in the consumer's interest. But, as Prof. Slichter of Harvard remarks in one of the separate member comments:

If the community is successful in maintaining a high level of employment, a slow rise in the price level must be expected. The reason is that at high levels of employment, unions are in a strong enough bargaining position to push up the price of labor faster than the increase in output per man-hour.

The great writers of our past as of every other past have been free of these errors. Of the writers of the present Mauriac is outstanding for his conviction of the romantic potential of the ordinary. Radio and television may have made a provincialism such as his impossible in America. But beneath the standardization of clothes by Kuppenheimer and steaks by Swift and overdrive by Borg-Warner and humor by Goodman Ace the same essential human nature still flourishes. It awaits rediscovery by the writer who can escape the distractions of self and the tumult of the moment.

BOOKS

Prof. Slichter believes that this union pressure, while it will cause slightly rising price levels, is none the less beneficial since it makes management speed technological development to offset rising labor costs and thus increases our standard of living.

There is a wealth of material here for anyone who wants to wrestle with the problem of where collective bargaining is leading us.

PHILIP S. LAND

"Fighting" Bob

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

By Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette. Macmillan. 2 vols. 1305p.
\$15

A full life merits a full book. That is what we have here. Two devoted and talented authors have most worthily lived up to their avowed dedication to "make the record true and complete." The political history of the progressive and liberal movements in the United States has been immeasurably enriched by their long and fruitful labor.

To this reviewer, it has always seemed a glaring paradox that here in America, where we have a political system dedicated to freedom, the literature of democracy has been so largely subordinated. Diplomatic intrigue, wars and battles, transient foreign and domestic oscillations are dealt with in detailed chapters, and even whole books. But those who consistently fought the battles of peace at home, waging ceaseless struggle for social justice, without which our free institutions cannot endure, receive meager attention. The history of political movements themselves, which started so modestly but which grew to national proportion and import and have most seriously affected

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our lives and our economy for the
past fifty years, has not enlisted the
talent and attention it warrants.

The beginnings of genuine "pro-
gressivism" and "liberalism" in our
politics have immense and increasing
interest to us today. That interest is
emphasized because these very words
in our time have often taken on a
connotation of suspicion, contempt
and even persecution entirely alien to
their true intent.

The progressivism preached, led
and practiced by La Follette was in-
tensely American, and had as its core
a passionate love of country and a
glowing pride in our free institutions.
Too much of present day "liberalism"
is anti-American. Its forces are in the
hidden hands of avowed and alleged-
ly reformed Communists. It attracts a
motley of subversive aliens and a
weird conglomeration of frustrated
native incompetents possessing idle
time, questionable talent and wealth.

The progressive movement fought,
not for a radical, revolutionary and
violent change in the democratic
ideal, but for a steady remedying of
wrongs and perversions that were
shaming the ideal. La Follette de-
voted his entire life to criticism and
removal of the barnacled faults of our
democracy, but never in his long
years of service did he doubt the wis-
dom and righteousness of the system
itself.

The genesis of the genuine progres-
sive and liberal trends in America was
in the Granger movement in Wiscon-
sin in the early eighties. It was a
local but profound revolt against the
threatening rise of monopolies, the
arrogance of the railroads and, above
all, the profligate waste and flagrant
robbery of public lands. It was gen-
erated by the descendants of pioneers
who came largely from Eastern-shore
stock, and in whose very blood ran
constantly a determined spirit of re-
sistance to tyranny and oppression
anywhere and in any form.

La Follette was caught up in the
whirl of the Granger movement, and
found in it a pattern for a progressive
political activity that would truly and
aggressively foster the interests of all
the people rather than an entrenched
minority favored by wealth and pow-
er. He also found it a highly satis-
factory outlet for his abounding en-
ergy and inherent talents in oratory,
persuasiveness and leadership. In his
enthusiasm for the cause and aims of
the Granger movement, and his po-
litical ideas of action modeled on it,
it is probable that he early adopted
as his battle-cry: "The supreme issue
is the encroachment of the powerful
few upon the rights of many."

These two volumes let us see and
know intimately "Bob" La Follette as

he was from his birth to his end—
the influences which worked on, for
and against him; the people around
him; the disappointing friendships
and the end results; the belated apol-
ogies of his former political antago-
nists. They also cut through the pon-
derous records and disputations of
fifty years of American politics and
give us, in addition to an honest bi-
ography of a vigorous life, an insight
into a most important phase of our
political history hitherto inadequately
recorded.

One can readily understand the
tremendously difficult task these two
authors faced in their self-imposed
assignment: a devoted wife, attuned
in spirit and dedication to her hus-
band's lifework, and a daughter equal-

ly drawn to it. In these hands the
quite natural urge to depict La Fol-
lette as a "prophet not without honor
save in his own country" gives place
to a more just and enlightened deline-
ation of him as an "embattled proph-
et of the new democracy." Time has
proved that he surely was that.

Some portion of his role as prophet
may be found in the fact that the
Wisconsin Platform, of which La Fol-
lette was the principal author, was
scornfully rejected in the Republican
National Conventions of 1908, 1912
and 1916. The rejection was accentu-
ated by the derision and the stupid
clamor of thoroughly "bossed" con-
ventions. But by 1920, eleven of the
thirteen planks rejected in 1908 had
become law; fourteen of the eighteen

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rejected in 1912 were written into the Federal statutes, and a little later a fifteenth, guaranteeing women's suffrage, became a provision of the Federal Constitution.

Every chapter dealing with the several political conventions of both parties in La Follette's time tingles with excitement. So do the reportings of the activities and connivings of a group of Senators determined to thwart any progressive social legislation and to ruin its leader by impeachment. But out of each of these ordeals there seems to have come understanding and out of understanding came resolution.

It is fitting that the books should close on La Follette's own epitaph: "I would be remembered as one who in the world's darkest hours kept a clean conscience and stood to the end for the ideals of American democracy." "Fighting Bob" La Follette will long be so remembered.

GREY LESLIE

THE CATALANS

By Patrick O'Brian. Harcourt, Brace. 250p. \$3.50

This, the second of Patrick O'Brian's books to be published in this country, will be no disappointment to those readers who were enthusiastic about his *Testimonies*. He writes now of Saint-Féliu, a town on the coast of France near the Spanish border in the Catalan country. With a skill that seems effortless he creates sharp impressions of the landscape with its vine-covered hills and flashing glimpses of the sea; and of the people, gay, noisy and passionate, irreligious and superstitious. Color, sound and feeling combine to make of Saint-Féliu a place once visited and well remembered.

In the story of Xavier Roig, the proud, rigid widower who seeks the healing warmth of affection in his association with Madeleine, a grocer's daughter who has been deserted by her husband, the author shows no lessening of the delicate penetration and compassion of his earlier book. The numerous Roig relatives are fearful for his position in the community and even more so for his property; his failure to establish a discreet liaison in Perpignan instead of planning marriage strikes them as stupid and perverse.

Alain Roig, a doctor summoned home from China by the family furor, is the detached observer through whom the reader enjoys the intimate, ironic and sometimes devastating insights into the Roiges. Later he becomes the confidant of Xavier and

then his counselor, baffling the family by his pity for his unsympathetic cousin. His solution of Xavier's problem is more or less inevitable—but it is the final irony.

Here is uncommonly good realism that rings with truth and is written in exquisite prose.

MARY STACK MCNIFF

GREY LESLIE has had many years experience in business and government.

MARY S. MCNIFF frequently reviews for the *Boston Pilot*.

THE WORD

"He went down with them on their journey to Nazareth, and lived there in subjection to them" (Luke 2:51; Gospel for Feast of the Holy Family).

Few subjects have been worn as smooth by the tongues and pens and typewriters of conscientious clergymen and industrious sociologists as the subject of the family. We all know by this time that the family is a natural institution, that it is the basic unit of human society, that it is the backbone of the nation.

Each January, however, when we observe again the liturgical Feast of the Holy Family in the calendar of wise Mother Church, we feel a twinge of revived interest in the familiar question of the family. We experience our annual surprise that God should have been a member of a human family. It is stimulating and immensely heartening to reflect once more that everything has been made new by the Incarnation. *Ecce, nova facio omnia: See, I make all things new.*

In a very different sense there seems to be something rather new, even on a strictly natural level, about the contemporary family. Both nature and history suggest with considerable force that in the normal functioning and evolution of a family there are two entirely distinct and almost opposite phases in the relationship between parents and children. It is not always easy to mark the precise point in time where the first phase ends and the second begins. But that difficulty does not alter the essential fact that there are two very different periods.

It is not always easy to say when night ends and day begins, but day is still not night.

In the first stage of family growth, during the entire long period when the

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children really are children, parents should certainly run the children. The expression is a loose one, and everyone knows that in one terribly fundamental sense nobody ought to run anybody, nor can he. Yet the truth remains that both in fact and by right children are strictly dependent upon their parents. Parents very properly make all major decisions for the youngsters.

In the second stage of family development, the now adult sons and daughters should not, it is true, attempt to run their parents. Nevertheless, in spite of all the genuine obligations of love and respect and practical assistance which do remain, the grown children are now truly independent of their parents. Their own major decisions ought to be made by themselves.

The new characteristic in a certain number of contemporary families is the oddest and most exact reversal of those two normal phases of family evolution. There can be no question that not a few children now have their parents completely at their mercy, and, of course, the tyranny of children is merciless. Let us not waste time proving our innocent contention. Anyone who questions it should board the nearest bus, street car or subway, and simply watch and listen. The listening technique will prove especially instructive. Contemporary children talk too much and too loudly.

But to resume: it is equally beyond question that any number of parents now manifest a sudden violent determination to manage their children most firmly as soon as the progeny reach any kind of maturity and start trying to make those decisions which are personal in the highest sense because they simply must not be made by any other person. I, for one, and whether anybody cares or not, am thoroughly sick, sick *ad nauseam* and beyond, of the doting parents whose eighteen-year-old daughter is "too young" to enter the convent or whose twenty-two-year-old son ought not to marry just yet because dear mother's old headaches are back again or poor father has insomnia, fallen arches and creeping distemper.

Old ways are invariably good ways if they are natural ways. It is ancient, natural and most right that children should be completely ruled by their parents: the Son of God was obedient to an earthly Mother and foster father. It is new, unnatural and utterly wrong that adults, in the name of any relationship, should be completely or essentially ruled by other adults. *Did you not know*, said Christ our Lord to His parents at a remarkably early age, *that I must be about My Father's business?* VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

THEATRE

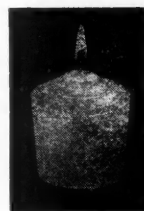
THE PRESCOTT PROPOSALS. Mary Prescott was the daughter of an ambassador, widow of a Senator and eventually a U. S. delegate to the United Nations. She was selected by the State Department to propose a

plan for peace, which was naturally enough linked with her name. Quite as naturally, she was a member of a five-nation subcommittee on the plan that included a delegate from Russia and one from a satellite nation. Other members of the subcommittee were Sir Audley Marriott from England, Paul-Emile D'Arceau from France and Dr. Ali Masoud from Pakistan.

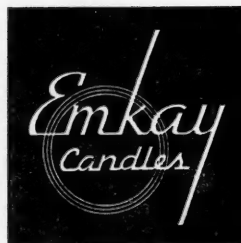
While the Prescott proposals were in the exploratory stage, something dreadful happened to the U. S. dele-



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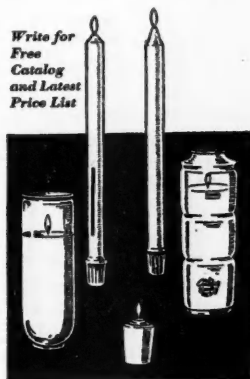
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PURVEYORS TO THE VATICAN BY APPOINTMENT

gate. A clandestine lover was discovered in her past, and a dead man was found in her bedroom. She thus became the most risky of security risks. Under the circumstances, it would have been tactful and patriotic for the lady to resign, feigning a heart condition, before the Russians could exploit her embarrassment. If she had done that, however, she would have taken most of the human interest and all the suspense out of the story, and Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse would have had to write a different and probably better play.

Predicated on a line of action an honorable and sensible woman would hardly be likely to follow, the play becomes a sentimental melodrama. The British, French and Pakistani delegates pledge themselves to lie like gentlemen, while the Soviet representative threatens to blurt out the truth like a cad. This dramatic tinsel, however, is delivered in a package of superior acting, reminding one of green whiskey from a decanter of Steuben glass.

Katharine Cornell gives the leading role a semblance of vitality by investing it with the charm of her personality. Felix Aylmer is faultless as the reserved, imperturbable Englishman. More interesting performances are offered by Ben Astar, as the Soviet stone man, and Boris Tamarin, as the toadying Czechoslovak delegate.

Mr. Lindsay directed the production, which Leland Hayward has ushered into the Broadhurst. Donald Oenslager designed the sets.

OH, MEN! OH, WOMEN! If you have tears to shed—tears of mirth, that is—prepare to shed them at Henry Miller's Theatre, where Cheryl Crawford has installed Edward Chodorov's good-natured lampooning of psychoanalysis.

The shenanigans begin when a patient enters the office of Dr. Alan Coles and is cajoled into assuming a recumbent position on the doctor's sofa and revealing his secret yearnings. While the patient is spilling his experiences, he discloses that he has been the illicit lover of the girl Dr. Coles intends to marry the next day. In subsequent scenes the doctor is shown in various positions of blowing his top.

While the comedy reflects the modern casual attitude toward marriage and sexual delinquency, there is no suggestion that dalliance insures either compatibility or happiness. Unconventional sex, incidentally, is kept off stage, and the audience learns of it only by hearsay. Meanwhile, the doctor's tantrums rather effectively deflate the notion that all psychiatrists are infallible.

Franchot Tone, starred as Dr. Coles, is adequate in the role, but allows

Betsy von Furstenberg and Anne Jackson to steal scenes from under his nose. Miss van Furstenberg is properly flutery as a young woman on the verge of marriage. Miss Jackson's exposure of her overnight quarrel with her husband is hilarious. Gig Young is persuasive as the frustrated husband of a frustrated wife.

Mr. Chodorov directed the production. The sets were designed by William and Jean Eckart. Each of them has made a considerable contribution to an amusing and edifying comedy.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

THE YEAR'S BEST: one reviewer's choice for everyone to quarrel with. (In the absence of any spectacularly worthy contenders, the pictures are listed in order of their release rather than of their merit.)

LILI—MGM

CALL ME MADAM—20th Century-Fox
MAN ON THE TIGHTROPE—20th Century-Fox

SHANE—Paramount

JULIUS CAESAR—MGM

ROMAN HOLIDAY—Paramount

THE BEGGAR'S OPERA—Warner (British)

LITTLE BOY LOST—Paramount

THE ROBE—20th Century-Fox

GILBERT AND SULLIVAN—Lopert-United Artists (British)

KING OF THE KHYBER RIFLES owes its existence to the correct estimate that the India of *Gunga Din* and *Lives of a Bengal Lancer*, of British military rule and native uprisings, can still be counted on to furnish ideal material for Technicolor action epics. Also that this action, plus the forbidden scenery of the Khyber Pass (or a reasonable facsimile thereof), is a good bet to fill the broad reaches of the CinemaScope screen. Since the earlier films, however, Hollywood has begun to harbor reservations about the virtues of British imperialism. This new one is not without its share of disillusioned sociological comment.

Its hero (Tyrone Power) is a half-caste, born of an English father and a Moslem mother. He suffers nearly as much from the snobbery of his fellow British officers as he does from the more normal occupational hazards of a campaign against a villainous Afridi chieftain (Guy Rolfe). The picture handles its indictment of the "pukka sahib" view of race with commendable naturalness and restraint.

This serves to add an extra dimension to what might simply have been a Far Eastern "Western."

The film-play is laid in the time of the Sepoy mutiny one hundred years ago. According to the story, an Indian fanatic who has succeeded in uniting the insurgent border tribes under his leadership is the boyhood friend and foster brother of the hero. Hence the hero's special competence, and his overwhelming motive for encompassing the rebel's destruction. Though this part of the plot has been somewhat obscured (apparently by over-zealous editing), director Henry King has staged the action with electrifying vigor. Its grimness is compromised neither by sugar-coating nor by any hint of tongue-in-cheek.

He has also composed his shots against the California mountains (masquerading satisfactorily as the Hindu Kush) with considerable grasp of the cinematographical problems presented by the exaggerated horizontal proportions of the screen. With the same limitation in mind, he has hit on the effective stratagem of staging two stunning hand-to-hand fights in a prone position.

Altogether the film is very good family fare only occasionally weakened by the inevitable romance between Power and the distressingly un-British and un-Victorian Terry Moore. The cast also includes Michael Rennie as an intrepid, correct, and up to a point, tolerant general. John Justin is a typical young snob, and Richard Stapley is a well-disposed lieutenant who comes to a particularly gruesome end. (20th Century-Fox)

THE EDDIE CANTOR STORY is an acutely embarrassing, family-style Technicolor biography of a musical personality in the Jolson-Parks tradition. While Cantor's voice is heard on the sound track, Keefe Brasselle plays the part and goes through the motions of singing. Physically the difference between this and the Jolson pictures is that Cantor's appearance is so integral a part of his success as a performer that an attempt has been made to turn Brasselle into his facial counterpart. Unfortunately the result—achieved by means of spirit gum, make-up and brown contact lenses over his blue eyes—is grotesque rather than convincing.

The picture is still more unfortunate in its story line. This incorporates every known sentimental show-business cliché without any attempt to give any of them vitality or individualized detail. It succeeds, though it was obviously intended to be adulatory, in making its hero seem like an idiot. (Warner)

MOIRA WALSH

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CORRESPONDENCE

Apropos of Fr. Dietz

EDITOR: I enjoyed Rev. George A. Kelly's review of Sister Mary Harrita's *Peter A. Dietz, Labor Priest* in the Nov. 7 *AMERICA*. However, I should like to take issue with Fr. Kelly on a couple of points.

The review states that "the author never comes to grips with the man himself." The book was not meant to psychoanalyze Fr. Dietz but to make his social program better known. Still, on pp. 19-20 we are given some of his personality traits: "zealous and enthusiastic"; "abrupt and often harsh in manner"; "natural tendency to irritability"; "brusqueness," etc. There is also an evaluation by Rev. William Kirby. Other traits are described on pp. 227-228.

Fr. Kelly says that "no interviews with people who knew the man are recorded." Footnote 72 to Chapter One (p. 232) states: "This evaluation of Fr. Dietz is drawn from his *Diary*, his private correspondence, interviews with his students and with his brother, the Rev. Fr. Frederick C. Dietz in Oberlin, Ohio." THERESA DUDEK
Des Plaines, Ill.

EDITOR: My incautious generalizations have caught up with me. However, I hold fast to the first. The author does not come to grips with the personality of Peter Dietz.

I will modify the second to mean that Sister Harrita did not interview many of the people I think she might have interviewed in order to get some honest sidelights on Fr. Dietz' peculiarities and defects. Before writing my review I talked with a few people who were in an excellent position to know him during the period of his parish ministry. From them I received a clearer view of the man than I did from the whole book.

The book leaves at loose ends what in my opinion should have been made definite and explicit, even to the point of psychoanalyzing Fr. Dietz if necessary. He was a strange and contrary man, and for that reason was a handicap to the Catholic social mission he championed.

(REV.) GEORGE A. KELLY
New York, N. Y.

Trade with Soviet bloc

EDITOR: In Fr. Masse's article in your issue of Dec. 19, entitled "Free-world trade with the Soviet bloc," there is the clear implication that the present controversy on this subject is concerned

with our allies' trade with Communist countries. This is not so. The controversy concerns the trade that has continued during the Korean War and is still continuing between our allies and one Communist country, Red China.

No "super-patriot" that I have heard of has advocated the discontinuance of all trade between the Communist and non-Communist world. I feel that Fr. Masse, in an article of this type, certainly had an obligation to honest journalism to point out that the issue in the present controversy is what the United States should do, if anything, about our allies' trade with Red China, which has been steadily increasing over the past two years.

For yours and Fr. Masse's benefit, I am enclosing a Senate report entitled *Control of Trade with the Soviet Bloc*. This, as well as the Stassen report, should be read before one "takes an all-out position on this question."

HENRY M. SHINE, JR.

Washington, D. C.

EDITOR: By the "present controversy" Mr. Shine probably refers to the dispute within the Republican party touched off by Senator McCarthy's telecast of Nov. 24. My article was written prior to that date and so had no reference to that controversy. The bigger question of trade with the Soviet bloc is still very much alive, as Harold E. Stassen made clear as recently as Dec. 26 on NBC's "Meet the Press" program.

For the rest, Mr. Shine's statement that our allies' trade with Red China "has been steadily increasing over the past two years" will be news to the Eisenhower Administration. Free-world exports to Red China dropped from \$433 million in 1951 to \$257 million in 1952. The first half of this year they were up somewhat, but when the final figures are in, 1953 exports will almost certainly be below 1951.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE
New York, N. Y.

Midwestern voice

EDITOR: I was happy to see that you took notice of Loyola Law School's Office of Law Development (12/5).

Your Moira Walsh, however, will find that many engaged in research there possess "an unfortunate Midwestern accent," as she said of actors in *The Robe*. By the way, what sort of accent is regarded as "fortunate"—Hollywood British?

Chicago, Ill. PHILIP CONLEY